

Message Text

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PAGE 01 SECTO 00003 031835Z

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ACTION NODS-00

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FM USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTO 0003

NODIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) , AF

SUBJECT: LETTER TO DIGGS

FOR AHERNE ONLY

1. FOLLOWING IS APPROVED TEXT OF LETTER TO DIGGS.
 2. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR MRS. BURKE AND MR. DIGGS: YOUR LETTER OF SEPTEMBER 2 REACHED ME ON THE EVE OF MY DEPARTURE FOR ZURICH.
 3. THE DEPARTMENT -- ESPECIALLY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE -- HAS BRIEFED YOU AND THE OTHER INTERESTED MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS REGULARLY. I HAVE TESTIFIED ABOUT OUR POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS RECENTLY, AND HAVE ATTEMPTED TO SET THE POLICY BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THROUGH PUBLIC SPEECHES. I AM, THEREFORE, SURPRISED THAT YOUR LETTER, COMING AS IT DOES AT THIS LATE HOUR, SHOULD CONTAIN SO MANY MISSTATEMENTS AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS OF OUR PURPOSES. BECAUSE OF THE PRESS OF TIME, HOWEVER, I SHALL LIMIT MYSELF TO COMMENT ON THE SEVERAL POINTS YOU SET FORTH.
 - A. THROUGHOUT OUR PRESENT EFFORTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, WE HAVE WORKED IN THE CLOSEST CONSULTATION WITH THE PRESIDENTS OF THE "FRONT LINE" STATES. THERE HAVE BEEN THREE U.S. MISSIONS AND TWO UK MISSIONS TO MEET WITH THEM SINCE MY LUSAKA SPEECH IN APRIL. THE PURPOSE OF THESE MISSIONS HAS BEEN TO INSURE THAT OUR POLICIES WERE COORDINATED. WE HAVE MADE NO MOVE OF WHICH THEY
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DISAPPROVED.

B. WE HAVE AGREED, FURTHERMORE, WITH THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS THAT THEY SHOULD HAVE THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, AND THAT WE WOULD MAKE NO SEPARATE APPROACHES OR ATTEMPT TO ADVANCE ANY PARTICULAR GROUP, AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS, AS THE NOMINEE OF THE UNITED STATES. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE DO NOT HAVE CONTACT WITH THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, BUT ONLY THAT THE ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE VARIOUS MOVEMENTS WILL BE AND SHOULD BE DECIDED BY THE LEADERS OF AFRICA, AND NOT IN WASHINGTON.

C. THE QUID PRO QUO WITH SOUTH AFRICA WHICH YOU DESCRIBE HAS NEVER BEEN SUGGESTED OR CONSIDERED.

D. YOU ALSO SAY THAT OUR APPROACH TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES IS INVERTED. I AM NOT CERTAIN WHAT THIS MEANS, IF IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE SHOULD IGNORE WHATEVER OPPORTUNITIES MAY COME TO HAND TO RESOLVE EITHER NAMIBIA OR RHODESIA, AND FOCUS ON NOTHING BUT SOUTH AFRICA. OF COURSE WE WILL CONTINUE TO USE OUR INFLUENCE TO BRING PEACEFUL CHANGE, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS TO SOUTH AFRICA -- AS I HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED PUBLICLY -- BUT WE WILL NOT, AT THE SAME TIME, ABANDON WHATEVER HOPES STILL REMAIN FOR A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. IN ANY EVENT WE ALL WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO AWAIT THE OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, AVOIDING HASTY JUDGMENTS THAT MAY WELL MAKE THE OUTCOME WE ALL SEEK MORE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE.

E. FINALLY, YOUR SUGGESTION THAT ELECTORAL CONSIDERATIONS MOTIVATE OUR UNDERTAKING TO BRING MAJORITY RULE TO RHODESIA AND INDEPENDENCE TO NAMIBIA IS UNWORTHY. IT IS ALSO PALPABLE POPPYCOCK. THERE IS NO BLINKING THE BLUNT FACT THAT PRESIDENT FORD PUT HIS NOMINATION AT RISK IN LAUNCHING AND SUSTAINING THIS EFFORT FOUR MONTHS AGO -- WITHOUT, I MAY ADD, ANY ENCOURAGEMENT FROM YOU THEN, OR NOW. I HAVE SEARCHED YOUR LETTER FOR A WORD OF SUPPORT FOR OUR EFFORT TO FIND A JUST AND PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE TRIPLE CRISES OF NAMIBIA, RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA -- SOMETHING, IN SHORT, WHICH WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE NON-PARTISAN SPIRIT WHICH YOU CORRECTLY SUGGEST MUST INSPIRE OUR DIPLOMACY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AT THIS SENSITIVE AND CRITICAL MOMENT.

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I HAVE FOUND NONE.

4. I AM PREPARED TO MEET WITH YOU AND OTHER INTERESTED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ON MY RETURN. I DO NOT INTEND TO RELEASE THIS EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE, BUT I HAVE NO OBJECTION IF YOU DO. SINCERELY YOURS, HENRY A. KISSINGER.

END TEXT.

5. PLEASE HAVE IT TYPED, SIGNED, AND DELIVERED TODAY. COPIES SHOULD GO TO HAK CORRESPONDENCE FILE IN S/S,

TO LSE, EYES ONLY TO BOB MCCLOSKEY, AND TO S/S FOR THE RECORD
(BUT NOT REPEAT NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION).

6. CHEERS.
KISSINGER

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